563 other, and which in the course of centuries in this grouping have crystallized into a strong social and political community.

563 162 144 The great mass of the population consists of the agriculturalists, the Bahutu [Hutu], belonging to the Bantu race, more specifically to the so-called basic Bantu. In Urundi their number is approximately one and a half million. Above them, as the ruling caste, stands the Hamitic pastoral Batussi, who invaded Urundi from the north about 400 years ago and who, both here and in the entire interlacustrine region, subjugated the agricultural Bahutu. They are proud, tall figures, often over two meters in height, with sharp profiles and stately posture, so that at first they even impress the well-traveled European. According to official estimates, they number from 40,000 to 50,000 in the whole of Urundi. Besides these giants, the country also shelters the remnants of an original, short, pygmoid population, the Batwa [Twa], who lived here in the forests even before the Bantu and who, together with the forests, were partly destroyed, partly pushed back into remote corners by the other stronger elements. At present there are only a few thousand of them in Urundi and the same number in Ruanda. Their stature ranges mostly between 1.50 meters and 1.60 meters, but they are [463] strongly built and make a living as hunters, as blacksmiths and potters in the service of others, or as bodyguards of important people and of the king.

563 Undoubtedly the Batwa are the oldest stratum of population in the entire interlacustrine region. Dispersed in small tribal groups over the country, [7] they lack any kind of social cohesion; nor do they seem to have any traditions about their past. The [144] Urundi Batwa resemble the Batwa in the forests, but in Urundi they apparently have more Bantu blood in their veins. They are, therefore, somewhat taller and not as pure a type as the Batwa of Ruanda. Both in Urundi and Ruanda and in the northeastern Congo region, the Batwa are in the process of disappearing. Regarded as pariahs both by the Batussi and the Bahutu, they are everywhere treated badly but are at the same time thoroughly exploited. They always look profoundly melancholic and are

804 introduced here through contact with foreigners in the export
177 trade. It is used, for instance, for cattle hides, ivory, and wax.
The use of cowrie shells as money is known neither in
[436] Urundi nor in Ruanda.

3. Handicrafts

463 In his excellent book, Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika
433 [Handicraft and Industry in East Africa], (L. Friederichsen & Co., Hamburg, 1910) F. Stuhlmann writes: "It must be emphasized that in Africa handicrafts are almost everywhere only a matter of secondary importance; the basis of the economy is agriculture" (p. 3). This also applies to Urundi where handicrafts are, for the most part, "homework," that is, raw products are worked for one's personal use at home, and only the surplus is traded for the products of others. Home industry, that is, the production in quantity at home for the use of others and for export, exists only for pottery and iron-working. On the other hand, there is
[437] also the practice of paid labor whereby the craftsman is paid for manufacturing items at the house of the person who ordered them, using raw material furnished by this person, for example, in the production of barkcloth, the construction of a hut, and wood carving. Of course there are skillful and unskillful people in every trade and in every family, and the products of the former are naturally preferred to those of the latter. Only in pottery
463 and ironwork is the craft passed on from father to son. It is
462 mainly the Batwa who practice these two crafts and pass them on
563 from generation to generation, but there are also Bahutu families in which pottery and ironwork are hereditary (No. 19, p. 369). Ironwork, wood carving, and the production of barkcloth are exclusively reserved to men, plaiting and basketry to women. Among the Bahutu, pottery, too, is only made [78] by women; among the Batwa it is mainly done by women but to some extent also by men (No. 19, p. 451).

323 Pottery (inkono, pot) is of course practiced predominantly where the suitable type of clay occurs. This is the case in many

2. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

428 In the families of those Barundi (Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa) who do not hold an office, the eldest son (or daughter) of the first wife is the secular and religious principal heir of the father. He inherits (kuraga) the largest share of the available family property, while the mother and the other children each receive equal shares of the remaining property. If the mother [429] is already dead and the children still small, the eldest son as the principal heir is expected to provide for them. If a 428 Murundi dies without children and leaves a widow, his brothers 768 divide his property among them, and the widow returns to her 587 family. However, a widow with children becomes the wife of the brother nearest to the deceased (levirate), and she and her children remain in the same house as before. The family stays together until the children are married and set up their own families (No. 19, p. 285). According to von Langenn, only sons receive the inheritance; they then support the mother and sisters. If there are no sons, either the widow or the daughters, as the case may be, are the heirs.

428 The eldest son also inherits the religious and professional ● 463 attributes and skills of his father. If the father was a priest (kiranga), sorcerer, medicine man (umufumu), or blacksmith 868 (umususi), etc., the eldest son becomes -- or remains -- in the same position or profession by inheriting from his father the insignia and tools, in addition to the expert training. Thus, certain professions remain the prerogative of certain families. If the mother is an expert of some sort, she will pass on her skills to her eldest daughter.

428 If someone dies without leaving a family or relatives, the mutwale of the district in question inherits the property (No. 19, p. 568). Since no written laws of any sort exist, all law is 671 customary law, tradition, and usage. Every adult Murundi is 563 familiar with these customs, and if anybody infringes them, it is regarded as a punishable violation of the law. Even the king considers himself bound by them in his relations to the Batussi and only under exceptional circumstances [93] does he disregard

423 typical case is that of a man who has been allowed to
435 establish himself on a specified spot on a hill, that is, on the hill-side, between the stony higher belt and the swampy valley bottom; this gives him rights over the whole ground above and below him, up to the pasture-lands and down to the papyrus; now there may remain an uncultivated part in this vertical tract of land: if another agriculturist wishes to establish himself there, he will have to ask for the former occupant's permission, which as a rule can be received in exchange for a present. If the present is important, this will be equivalent to a kind of sale; if it is not, the new-comer will become the man, the *muhutu*, of the first-comer; he will have to obey him and carry out what commissions the other cares to entrust him with. The same relationship may arise if the occupant of an *itongo* (singular of *amatongo*) surrenders to a new comer lands that were already cultivated.

Relationship between craftsmen and other elements of the population

463 Industrial production is almost totally domestic, to the making of back-cloths (*impuzu*); there are however a few skilled handicraftsmen: potters, blacksmiths, makers of millstones, milkpots, bracelets, shell-jewels. Before markets were introduced, goods
435 used to be exchanged for food-stuffs or scrap-iron. This bartering was and still is practiced in the *ingo* as before.

431 But, besides this universal barter-system, there is what I have thought fit to call 'baronial exchange': 435 it is practised among members of the aristocracy only; it consists in offering members of the ruling 565 class some specified goods, in exchange for a cow; but this cow is admittedly worth more than the presented goods. Consequently, the giver of the goods will feel bound to go on making presents, until the recipient of them judges he is indebted in his turn and it is appropriate to bestow another cow. Of course, the recipient of the cows becomes the *muhutu* of the donor. I have gathered several instances of this relationship based on inequality: it occurs among salt-makers, blacksmiths, copper bracelets, pedlars (*abayangayanga*).

Women's activities

462 The wives of the great live in almost complete
461 inactivity; their *inshoreke* (attendants) do the domestic work for them ('they sweep the floor') or more delicate work (as fine basket-work). Only women till the land and make pots in Batwa households. Bahutu women till the land, sometimes, but not always, with the help of their husbands; the husband may have another job when he lives among a chief's attendants, has a trade of his own or peddles goods across the country.

224 inkezi, and monkeys (1), whose flesh they eat. This makes them

[825] 1. Only the chimpanzee (impndu) and the gorilla (ingagi) escape the cooking pot because, as the Pygmies say with a shade of malice, "they were formerly our peers (ngo n'abatwa bachu) and only with time have they degenerated and turned into animals (ngo zahinduts' inyamaswa)!"

[783]

[411] most "impure" in the eyes of the others. They handle bows and wooden arrows with great skill. Although they are always on the watch for game, they cannot derive all their subsistance from it. The plants and wild roots of the forest are not sufficient either. In former times, [579] they used to hold for ransom those travelers who had the temerity to cross their domain, and they raided the Bahutu fields. Now that ● 463 European authorities have put an end to these acts of pillage, they have found new sources of revenues in the making of ropes, baskets, and bows, which they sell in the villages or take to market. One may no longer say of the Negrillos of Ruanda that they are still at the "gathering stage." They have been beyond it for an indeterminate period of time.

563 696 The great Batutsi chiefs like to have a few Batwa around them and use them chiefly as litter bearers. Many of them live at the capital where they are used in various capacities as guards and watchmen. Executioners are recruited among them. They like to exercise this function, for they keep the victims' remains.

It must be added that they showed unequaled cruelty in the exercise of this horrible function. The screams of the victims aroused no pity in them. European penetration has fortunately put an end to this dismal vocation.

224 [342] The Negrillos live in very primitive huts made of branches, /36/ which do not provide complete protection against the inclemency of the seasons or wild animals. The latter do not usually arouse much fear in them, since they are familiar with their habits and lairs.

1 [i.e., the eating of various meats by the Batwa. -Analyst]

OOD (which is basically demoralizing) and the sudden, unplanned rise to the level of their former masters, owing to prematurely granted rights of citizenship.... Many were unable to withstand this two-fold distortion. The primitive Blacks, however, have none of the defects transmitted to the spuriously civilized Blacks through our own errors." (1)

1. General Mangin, Regards sur la France d'Afrique /A Look Toward French Africa/, pp. 174-178.

Rev. Fr. Pinard de la Boullaye, in speaking of "very primitive" societies, lists the causes which explain their stagnation, ... "concentration of their energies on tasks which are not, like industry, susceptible of improvement: once the game is killed or the fish caught, their efforts come to a stop only to begin again endlessly and with no ulterior goal. Hence, general equality ... no specialists to perfect the procedures, no "idlers" dedicated to speculation" ... (2).

2. Rev. Fr. Pinard de la Boullaye, S. J. Correspondant, January 25, 1929.

[143] [176] The same might be said of the Banyarwanda, who are cultivators, woodcutters, blacksmiths, basket makers, potters, etc., and who have merely imitated their predecessors and made no innovations. To sum up this matter of stagnation, let us add that it would be wrong and unjust to attribute it to a lack of intelligence /68/ on the part of the Blacks. Among many other causes, it comes chiefly from their lack of method and their lack of initiative, which are due to the long isolation in which they have lived. As we have said before, the facilities and resources offered by nature to the Africans are also partly responsible for this. The intermittent work required for their daily sustenance demanded no great efforts. The Blacks, with their trust in nature, their satisfaction with their fate, their lack of artificial needs and cares, and no worries about the morrow, would "let themselves live" from day to day. Let us hear what Mr. Delafosse, the

438 The inhabitants of the Bugoyi, Mulera, Bussigi, Bgisha,
651 Bufumbiro, etc., formerly supplied this substance as a tax under the name of umutsama (plural imitsama).

438 The people of the Kinyaga, dwellers on the shores of Lake
463 Kivu, made strong mats (ibisunyu) of lake reeds for the court.

People from the Bgishaza, Kingogo, Budaha, etc., made litters, baskets, and hampers of various shapes because they lived close to the forest where the materials essential to their craft are to be found.

463 Dressing cases, combs, butter jars, dishes; spoons, pitchers,
651 pipes, tobacco pouches, bows, arrows, shields, quivers, spear shafts, clubs, scabbards, cases for knives and drinking tubes, drums, chairs, etc., were all made by professionals who paid their taxes in this fashion.

644 In accordance with an immemorial custom, the king chose himself a wife from each of the following Hamitic clans: /458/ Bega, Basinga, Bakono, Baha, and sometimes also among the Bagessera, not to speak of those who were referred to him on account of their mental or physical qualities. He contracted matrimonial alliances with the neighboring princes of the Uswi, Karagwe, and Bunyabungu, but no son of those foreign princesses, to our knowledge, ever sat on the throne. Few royal wives managed to retain their husband's good favors indefinitely. Many of them were demoted to the rank of servants (abaja), if not sent back to their families (1).

1. This was the best they could hope for, since then they regained their complete freedom.

Some chiefs were bound by custom to send regularly to court some little girls, who were raised among the queen-mother's followers. The lot of those children was a rather unhappy one. Some of them when grown were chosen as servants or as symbolic wives offered to the spirits of dead kings (2).

2. Cf. Chapter VII below under "Funeral Rites."

[Lie., heavy. -Analyst]

501 In rowing, the oarsmen sit on the edges of the boat. Only the large Kivu canoes had seats which were fastened on either side with ropes passing through holes in the rim of the boat. The holes are made

[227]

Fig. 40. Fishhook from Mukinjaga. (Actual size. III E 6896. 17 centimeters long.)

with a percussion drill (umutwero).

Industry. In Ruanda, as Dr. R. Kandt's (1)

1. Cf. the monograph "Gewerbe in Ruanda [Industry in Ruanda]," "Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 329-372.

463 [113]

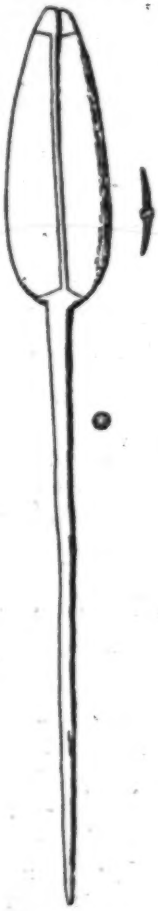

Fig. 41. Oar from Mulera. (1/12 actual size. III E 13731. 181 centimeters long.)

studies have already pointed out, industry has the character of handicraft or hired work. There are few branches of industry on the level of home industry where at times surplus goods not used in the household are sold. This is true, for example, of basketry which generally is produced by the women.

Beer which is brewed in every household seldom figures in business transactions and then only between friends, in exchange for the care of cows and for rented fields.

Potters and woodworkers are craftsmen who produce for the market, whereas metalworkers are wage earners who work on order. Wiredrawers [149], as well as the producers of barkcloth, reputedly work at the home of their employers.

322 Wood Carving. Woodwork in Ruanda is done by highly special-
●463 ized craftsmen. Most of them carve jugs or other vessels. They are called babazi in the vicinity of Mount Ndisa where there are great numbers of them. The persons who make bows and arrows and also

[412]

Fig. 47. Percussion Drill from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 9884. 34 centimeters long.)

live near there are called batanazi. Dr. Kandt (1), who in the

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 335-348.

monograph cited above discusses the wood industry of Ruanda in great detail, says with regard to the various types of workers: "Thus, the arrow makers also make bows, other workers make salt troughs for animals and drums, still others specialize in grain mortars, chairs, and beehives. There are also specialists engaged in making dishes, spoons for stirring, ladles, and clubs. Specialists in only one object make containers for milk, quivers, and ornamental boxes for pombe [beer] tubes. Workers who make milk vessels sometimes also make troughs for pombe. (2)

2. Ibid., p. 342.

322 [155] In spite of this extensive specialization, the products by and large are very crude and much poorer than the objects made around Lake Victoria. The smaller containers, especially the dishes for butter, are the most carefully and elegantly carved.

281 cut off, the skin is rubbed with cow dung and it is put aside for two or three days. Later it is combed and smoothed out with minyonza. This process is known as kubiutsa inshundo zinganda. The skin is then rubbed thoroughly with butter and sprinkled with red earth which has been soaked in water (kitaka ch'inkanda). The particles remaining after this has dried are mixed with butter. When the skin has been prepared thus far, patterns are sewn on it with an iron needle. Cattle tendons are used as thread. This work is called kukana nganda. Originally the needle had no eye; it was a sort of awl of the type which is also used to remove sand fleas (mafunza). At

[413]

Fig. 51. Awl from Mulera. (1/3 actual size. III E 13732. 24 1/2 centimeters long.)

its opposite end it has a knife to cut the skins. Finally, the skin must be perfumed. For this purpose the sweet-scented wood called imibavu ihumura is used. This wood is burned in a sherd (luggio) on red-hot coals. Above the fire a wide-meshed plaited basket (lutete) is placed upside down, like a dome. The skin is stretched over the basket and thus exposed to the smoke. This completes the dressing. The skins of goats and sheep are dressed with less care but along the same lines.

463 Trade. The division of labor in Ruanda is on a comparatively high level. The socio-political situation itself produces a diversity of occupations among the subjugated Bahutu and the ruling Batutsi, but we must not forget that agriculture among the Bahutu and cattle raising among the Batutsi are basically independent and have little relation to each other economically.

[160] The division of labor is not sufficiently advanced in Ruanda to give rise to any great economic independence, with the exception of the king who has large holdings in land and cattle. Most articles are made for home consumption.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

[p. 89]

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC PRODUCTION

As we mentioned earlier, it was by land cultivation and cattle rearing that the Ruanda satisfied their fundamental subsistence requirements. Consequently land, cattle, knowledge of agricultural and cattle-breeding techniques, implements, and ability to work were essential in the economic process of production.

Ruanda economy was primitive in the sense that every rugo[1] was a unit which had to produce practically all that was necessary for the subsistence of its members. None of these units concentrated on certain crops and obtained other foodstuffs by exchange. Every family head was a producer. What access had he, then, to the different factors of production?

Knowledge of agriculture and cattle-rearing techniques was part of the common heritage of every Ruanda. The Hutu were more expert agriculturalists than the Tutsi, and though some Tutsi were probably more versed in cattle-rearing any Hutu had the knowledge necessary to a tiller and a herdsman. Equipment was not very elaborate, and hoes and bill-hooks were not scarce.

Access to the other factors of production, land, cattle, and labour, was more restricted. We shall now consider what were the *opportunities of the individual family* head from that point of view.

I. LAND TENURE

When Ruanda are asked who is the owner of the fields and pastures, some answer it is the king, others the land chief or the cattle chief, others the family head or the lineage head. All of them are right, which means that the question is wrongly phrased.

The Ruanda did not conceive of ownership as a private and exclusive right to the various uses to which a thing may be submitted. They regarded each of the uses as the object of a particular right. It was not thought necessary that one person should be endowed with the sum of the rights affecting one object. On the contrary, it was usual that different persons could claim

[1] [rugo: The basic dwelling unit or compound; cf. p. 30 -- analyst]